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## Mermaid Constructions in Sidaama

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### 1. Introduction

The present paper is the first report on the existence of any mermaid construction ('MMC') outside Asia — in Sidaama of Ethiopia.

Tasaku Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has the following three properties.

- (a) It has the structure shown in (1).
- (b) The subject of the 'Clause' and the 'Noun' are not coreferential.
- (c) The 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

- (1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC'):  
[Clause] Noun Copula.

Contrary to the hypothesis previously suggested in the literature (Tsunoda 1996) that MMCs are peculiar to some Asian languages, Sidaama does have MMCs — in fact, as many as three types. Furthermore, one of the three types is even a prototypical instance of an MMC.

The ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by the noun *gara* ‘manner, way’ in one type (*gara* MMC), and by the enclitic =*gede* ‘like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)’ in another (= *gede* MMC). Both types have an evidential meaning. Specifically, they express the speaker’s conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the ‘Clause’ based on (i) his/her own observation of the action or state of the referent of the subject noun phrase or (ii) what s/he has heard about it from someone else: ‘It seems like ...’ or ‘It appears that ...’.

In the third type (DATLOC MMC), the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*, and this suffix follows the verb of the ‘Clause’, which is an infinitive inflected for person, number, and gender. This type has the meaning of what Heine 1994 (also, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 78, 207, 214-215, 311-313) calls ‘proximative aspect’, namely ‘be about to do ...’.

The ‘Clause’ of the *gara* MMC and of the =*gede* MMC can be used as a sentence by itself, but that of the DATLOC MMC cannot. The *gara* MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC, while the other two types do not.

The present study also speculates how the Sidaama MMCs came to be used.

## 2. Initial illustration

Examples of the three types of MMCs follow.

*gara* MMC: MMC with the noun *gara* ‘manner, way’

- (2) ise  
 3SG.F.NOM  
 dod-d-anno                      gara-a = ti.  
 run-3SG.F-IPFV.3              manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 LT: ‘She is the manner she (habitually) runs.’  
 FT: ‘It seems like she (habitually) runs.’

=*gede* MMC: MMC with the enclitic =*gede* ‘like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)’

- (3) ise  
 3SG.F.NOM  
 dod-d-anno = gede-e = ti.  
 run-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 LT: ‘She is like she will run.’  
 FT: ‘It seems like she will run.’

DATLOC MMC: MMC with an infinitive followed by the dative-locative suffix

- (4) ise  
 3SG.F.NOM  
 dod-d-a-ra-a = ti.  
 run-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC.MOD-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 ‘She is about to run.’

### 3. Profile of the language

Sidaama belongs to the Highland-East branch of the Cushitic language family of the Afro-Asiatic language phylum (Kawachi 2007, in press a). It is spoken in the Sidaama Zone of South-Central Ethiopia. According to the 2007 Ethiopian Census, as of 2005 the population of the Sidaama people was 2,966,377.

Sidaama has five short vowel phonemes (/i, e, a, o, u/) and their long counterparts (/ii, ee, aa, oo, uu). It has the following consonant phonemes: /b, t, d, k, g, ʾ, pʾ, tʾ, kʾ, dʃ, č, j, čʾ, f, s, š, h, m, n, ñ, r, l, w, y/. Sidaama is a pitch-accent language, which indicates prominence with high pitch.

Sidaama sentences normally follow the SOV order, though other orders are also possible in some discourse contexts. Adnominal demonstratives and adjectives have to precede the noun that they modify. Genitive noun phrases and relative clauses generally precede the noun that they modify.

Sidaama nouns inflect for case, gender and also for the ‘Unmodified/Modified’ distinction (see below), and use a suprafix (employing high pitch) in addition to suffixes. Sidaama has a nominative-accusative case system (Kawachi, in press b). Sidaama uses suffixes for the nominative, dative-locative, allative, and ablative-instrumental cases, a suprafix for the accusative-oblique case, and both for the genitive case. Nouns take different allomorphs of the nominative, genitive, and dative-locative case suffixes depending on gender and on whether they are accompanied by any modifier, the possessive pronominal suffix, or both (Modified, henceforth), or not at all (Unmodified, henceforth) (Kawachi & Tekleselassie, in press). See Table 1. ‘Modified’ and ‘Unmodified’ (and its related term ‘Modifier’) are capitalized because these terms are used here to refer to the morphosyntactic distinction specific to nouns in Sidaama.

Table 1: Nominative, Genitive, and Dative-locative Case Suffixes

case gender Modification	Nominative		Genitive		Dative-locative	
	FEM	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM	MASC
Unmodified	-ø	-u	-te	-u	-te	-ho
Modified		-i	-ø	-i	-ra	

Verbs inflect for aspect or mood and also for the person, number, and gender of the subject (and optionally for those of the object). There are five

aspectual categories: imperfective, distant perfect, recent perfect, continuous, and progressive. The imperfective has both habitual and future interpretations. The mood categories are of two types: imperative and optative.

In a verb-predicate sentence (cf. 4.1), the verb root has to be accompanied either by one of the mood suffixes, e.g. (5) (imperative), or by the subject suffix and one of the aspectual suffixes, e.g. (6) (distant perfect). Both the aspectual and mood suffixes have different forms depending on the person and number of the subject.

- (5)    faraššó                    usur-i.  
          horse.ACC                fasten-IMP.2SG  
          ‘(to the second person singular) Fasten the horse!’
- (6)    ise                        faraššó                    usur-t-ino.  
          3SG.F.NOM        horse.ACC                fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
          ‘She fastened the horse.’

Sidaama has enclitics that may be called noun-phrase enclitics. They are used to form noun phrases. One of them takes the forms =*ta* (FEM)/= *ha* (MASC) for the singular and the form =*re* for the plural. The singular forms =*ta* and =*ha* are highly relevant to the present study. They attach to (i) a genitive noun phrase or a relative clause to form (part of) an argument noun phrase, (ii) an adjective, a noun phrase, a genitive noun phrase, or a relative clause to form a predicate, or (iii) a clause to form a clausal complement (Kawachi 2011). The singular noun phrase enclitic changes its form, depending on the gender of the referent of the noun phrase and on the case of the noun phrase. See Table 2. (The plural form =*re* is limited to use (i). It is not relevant to the main theme of the present paper.)

Table 2: Singular Noun-Phrase Enclitic =*ta*/= *ha*

Use \ Case \ Gender			FEM	MASC
(i)	ACC		= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ha</i>
	NOM		= <i>tj</i>	= <i>hu</i>
	GEN		= <i>te</i>	= <i>hu</i>
(ii)	PRED	Unmodified nouns, adjectives, (headless) relative clauses	= <i>te</i>	= <i>ho</i>
		Modified nouns	= <i>tj</i>	—
(iii)	COMP		= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ha</i>

The present study mainly concerns use (ii), the predicative use of the singular noun-phrase enclitic. (Note that Sidaama does not have a copula verb, and the noun-phrase enclitic =*ta*/= *ha* performs the function of a copula.) In this use, when preceded by an adjective, the singular noun-phrase enclitic is =*te* (FEM)/= *ho* (MASC), e.g. (7). When preceded by a common noun, it changes its form depending on whether the noun is

Unmodified (= *te* (FEM)/= *ho* (MASC)), e.g. (8), or Modified (= *ti*), e.g. (9) to (12). The noun *faraššo* 'horse' is Modified by the adjective *dunka* 'slow' in (9), by the third-person genitive pronoun *isé* in (10), by the relative clause *ise usur-t-ino* 'she fastened' in (11), and the third-person possessive pronominal suffix *-se* in (12).

- (7)    *farašš-u*                      *dunka=ho*.  
          horse-NOM.M    slow=NPC.M.PRED  
          'The horse is slow.'
- (8)    *ku'u*                      *faraššo=ho*.  
          that.M.NOM    horse=NPC.M.PRED  
          'That is a horse.'
- (9)    *ku'u*                      *dunka*    *faraššo-o=ti*.  
          that.M.NOM    slow    horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
          'That is a slow horse.'
- (10)   *ku'u*                      *isé*                      *faraššo-o=ti*.  
          that.M.NOM    3SG.F.GEN    horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
          'That is her horse.'
- (11)   *ku'u*                      [*ise*                      *usur-t-ino*]  
          that.M.NOM    3SG.F.NOM    fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
          *faraššo-o=ti*.  
          horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
          'That is the horse that she fastened.'
- (12)   *ku'u*                      *faraššo-se-e=ti*.  
          that.M.NOM    horse-3SG.F.POSS-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
          'That is her horse.'

Constituents of sentences that are not explicitly expressed are often understood by addressees as long as their referents are clear from the context. The subject noun phrase may be omitted especially because its number/person/gender information is on the subject suffix on the verb or its gender information is on the predicative noun-phrase enclitic.

Sidaama is primarily a spoken language. Although it has a writing system (based on the Latin alphabet), the literacy rate is very low. All the examples in this paper were collected from my consultants by means of oral elicitation or from orally narrated folk tales I transcribed.

## 4. Types of sentences and clauses

### 4.1 Verb-predicate, adjective-predicate, and noun-predicate sentences

Roughly speaking, sentences are of three types: (i) verb-predicate sentences, e.g. (5), (6), (ii) adjective-predicate sentences, e.g. (7), and (iii) noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (8) to (12). The verb predicate is accompanied by verbal suffixes, whereas the adjective predicate and the noun predicate are not. Unlike the verb predicate, the adjective predicate and the noun predicate are followed by the predicative noun-phrase enclitic.

### 4.2. Relative clauses (or adnominal clauses) and adverbial clauses

#### 4.2.1 Relative clauses (or adnominal clauses)

A relative clause is formed by means of gapping, e.g. (11), (13) to (18), (21) to (23), or by means of pronominal retention (usually, the retention of the pronominal possessive suffix), e.g. (19) to (20), (24) to (25). No relative pronoun is used. A noun may serve as the head of a relative clause, e.g. (15), (17), (19). A noun-phrase enclitic may attach to a clause to form a relative clause without a head noun, e.g. (16), (18), (20), (23). Both a noun head and the enclitic may be used, e.g. (26).

- (13)    ani                    [mat'aafá            hatté  
         1SG.NOM            book.ACC            that.F.GEN  
         beetto-ra  
         child.GEN.F.MOD-DAT.MOD  
         u-i-t-ino]                    mančo  
         give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3    person(ACC.mod)  
         la'-o-mm-o.  
         see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
         'I (MASC) saw the woman who gave the book to that girl.'

- (14)    ani                    [mat'aafá            hatté  
         1SG.NOM            book.ACC            that.F.GEN  
         beetto-ra  
         child.GEN.F.MOD-DAT.MOD  
         u-i-t-ino] = ta  
         give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC  
         la'-o-mm-o.  
         see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
         'I (MASC) saw the one (FEM) who gave the book to that girl.'

- (15)    ani                    [ise                    mat'aafá  
         1SG.NOM            3SG.F.NOM           book.ACC  
         u-i-t-ino]                    mančo  
         give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3           person(ACC.mod)

la'-o-mm-o.  
 see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
 'I (MASC) saw the person who she gave the book to.'

- (16) ani [ise mat'aafá  
 1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM book.ACC  
 u-i-t-ino] = *ha* la'-o-mm-o.  
 give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
 'I (MASC) saw the one (MASC) who she gave the book to.'

- (17) isi [ise hakk'iččó  
 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM tree.ACC  
 mur-t-anno] *meesane*  
 cut-3SG.F-IPFV.3 ax(ACC.mod)  
 hiikk'-ø-ino.  
 break-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M  
 'He broke the ax with which she cuts a tree.'

- (18) isi [ise hakk'iččó  
 3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM tree.ACC  
 mur-t-anno] = *ta*  
 cut-3SG.F-IPFV.3=NPC.F.ACC  
 hiikk'-ø-ino.  
 break-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M  
 'He broke the one (FEM) with which she cuts a tree.'

- (19) [ise ledó-si  
 3SG.F.NOM CMT-3SG.M.POSS  
 dag-g-ino] *mančo*  
 come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 person(ACC.mod)  
 af-oo-mm-o.  
 get.to.know-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
 'I (MASC) know the man with whom she came.'  
 (*lit.* 'I (MASC) got to know the man she came with him.')

- (20) [ise ledó-si  
 3SG.F.NOM CMT-3SG.M.POSS  
 dag-g-ino] = *ha*  
 come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC  
 af-oo-mm-o.  
 get.to.know-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
 'I (MASC) know the one (MASC) with whom she came.'  
 (*lit.* 'I (MASC) got to know to the one (MASC) she came with him.')

- (21) ani [ise t'ume-te-nni  
 1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM beauty-GEN.F-LOC



- aĵ-ĵ-anno]                      *manĉo*  
 become.inferior-3SG.F-IPFV.3    person(ACC.mod)  
 addf-o-mm-o.  
 take-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
 'I (MASC) married the woman who is more beautiful than her.'  
 (*lit.* 'I (MASC) took the woman to whom she becomes inferior in  
 beauty.')
- (22) ani                      [ise                      t'ume-te-nni  
 1SG.NOM                  3SG.F.NOM              beauty-GEN.F-LOC  
 aĵ-ĵ-anno] = *ta*  
 become.inferior-3SG.F-IPFV.3=NPC.F.ACC  
 addf-o-mm-o.  
 take-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
 'I (MASC) married the one (FEM) who is more beautiful than her.'  
 (*lit.* 'I (MASC) took the one (FEM) to whom she becomes inferior  
 in beauty.')
- (23) kuni                      faraŝŝ-i                      ise  
 this.M.NOM              horse-NOM.MOD.M              3SG.F.NOM  
 usur-t-ino = ho.  
 fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.PRED  
 'This horse is the one (MASC) that she fastened.'
- (24) ani                      [ise                      mat'aafá-si  
 1SG.NOM                  3SG.F.NOM              book.ACC-3SG.M.POSS  
 hun-t-ino]                      *manĉo*  
 lose-3SG.F-D.PRF.3              person(ACC.mod)  
 la'-o-mm-o.  
 see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
 'I (MASC) saw the man whose book she lost.'
- (25) ani                      [ise                      mat'aafá-si  
 1SG.NOM                  3SG.F.NOM              book.ACC-3SG.M.POSS  
 hun-t-ino] = *ha*                      la'-o-mm-o.  
 lose-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC              see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
 'I (MASC) saw the one (MASC) whose book she lost.'
- (26) ani                      [ise                      mat'aafá  
 1SG.NOM                  3SG.F.NOM              book.ACC  
 u-i-t-ino] = *ha*  
 give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC  
 hakonne                      *manĉo*                      la'-o-mm-o.  
 that.M.ACC              person(ACC.mod)              see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M  
 'I (MASC) saw that man who she gave the book to.'

In Sidaama, relativization by means of gapping can be applied not only to argument noun phrases, but also to adjunct noun phrases. It is possible to relativize a noun phrase on any position in Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy. Examples include the following. Subject: (13), direct object: (11), (23), indirect object: (15), (16), (26), major oblique case NP: (17), (18), possessor: (24), (25), and object of comparison: (21) to (22). Relativization by means of pronominal retention is restricted to possessor NPs, e.g. (19) to (20), (24) to (25).

Teramura (1969) points out that adnominal clauses ('ACs') of Japanese are of two types: internal ACs and external ACs. Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC, and the underlying clause is recoverable. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from the outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or adjunct of the AC. See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2.). See also Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.1) for Japanese examples.

Sidaama has internal ACs; examples have been given in (13)-(26). However, it does not have external ACs. As noted by Tsunoda (this volume-a), almost all the languages that have MMCs have external ACs in addition to internal ACs. Sidaama is uncommon in that it has MMCs despite the absence of external ACs.

The verb in a relative clause in Sidaama is in one of its finite forms. It is in the imperfective, the distant perfect, the recent perfect, the continuous, or the progressive aspect. According to Keenan (1985: 160), the use of finite verb forms is unusual for prenominal relative clauses, which use non-finite verb forms (often, called 'participles') in most languages with prenominal relative clauses. In this respect, Sidaama may be uncommon.

#### 4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Sidaama uses clause-final markers to form different types of adverbial clauses, which normally precede a main clause. Some of them are relevant to a discussion of the MMCs, and are discussed in 5.2.4.2, 5.2.4.3, and 5.3.

### 5. Mermaid constructions

#### 5.1. Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Sidaama has three types of MMCs. One of the three types is even a prototypical instance of an MMC. Their structures are shown in (27), (28) and (29).

- (27) *gara* MMC: MMC with the noun *gara* 'manner, way'
- (a) Clause *gara-a* = ti.
  - (b) Clause *gar-í* = te. (for a feminine subject)
  - Clause *gar-í* = ho. (for a masculine subject)

(28) =*gede* MMC: MMC with the enclitic =*gede* ‘like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)’

(a) Clause = *gede-e* = *ti*.

(b) Clause = *gede-e* = *te*. (for a feminine subject)

Clause = *gede-e* = *ho*. (for a masculine subject)

(29) DATLOC MMC: MMC with an infinitive followed by the dative-locative suffix

1SG, 2SG: Subj. V-INF-PERS/NUM-GENDER-*ra-a* = *ti*.

3SG, 3PL: Subj. V-PERS/NUM/GENDER-INF-*ra-a* = *ti*.

1PL: Subj. V-PERS/NUM-INF-PERS/NUM-*ra-a* = *ti*.

2PL: Subj. V-PERS/NUM-INF-*ra-a* = *ti*.

In the *gara* MMC in (27) (discussed in 5.2.1), the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by the noun *gara* ‘manner, way’. In (27a), the final vowel of *gara* is lengthened, and in (27b), *gara* is in its genitive form, and its final vowel is replaced by *-i*, the genitive suffix for Modified masculine nouns. (Genitive nouns in this position are normally possessor nouns, e.g. ‘The horse is the boy’s’. I have only two nouns in my data other than *gara* whose genitive forms in the predicate position are not possessors: *umo* ‘head’ and *aada* ‘model’, whose genitive forms in this position mean ‘the first one’ (e.g. ‘He is the first one.’) and ‘a well-organized person’ (e.g. ‘He is a well-organized person.’), respectively.)

In the =*gede* MMC in (28) (discussed in 5.2.2), the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by the enclitic =*gede* ‘like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)’, and the final vowel of =*gede* is lengthened.

The ‘Clause’ part of both types of MMCs can stand alone as an independent sentence, and has the same pitch pattern when used as an independent sentence as when it appears in an MMC.

Unlike in other types of constructions, in both the *gara* MMC and the =*gede* MMCs, the person of the subject of the ‘Clause’ is restricted to the third-person, and cannot be the first person or second person.

Both types have an evidential meaning, specifically the speaker’s conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the ‘Clause’ based on (i) his/her own observation of the action or state of the referent of the subject noun phrase or (ii) what s/he has heard about it from someone else: ‘It seems like ...’ or ‘It appears that ...’, though the *gara* MMC with =*ti* in (27a) is aspectually a little more restricted than the *gara* MMC with =*te* (FEM)/ =*ho* (MASC) in (27b), and even more so than the =*gede* MMC in (28).

In the DATLOC MMC in (29) (discussed in 5.3), the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*, and the verb of the ‘Clause’ is an infinitive inflected for person, number, and gender. This type has the meaning of the proximative aspect: ‘be about to do ...’.

As noted in Section 3, Sidaama has noun-phrase enclitics that are used to form noun phrases. See Table 2. As (27) to (29) show, the Sidaama MMCs end with one type of noun-phrase enclitic: =*ti* (used with Modified nouns

as predicates) or *=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC) (used with Unmodified nouns, adjectives, and headless relative clauses as predicates). Thus, the MMCs resemble noun phrases in that they are followed by a noun-phrase enclitic in the predicate position.

In (27) and (28), the ‘Clause’ (preceding *gara* or *=gede*) can stand by itself as an independent sentence. In contrast, in (29), the ‘Clause’ (preceding *-ra-a=ti*) cannot. The types represented in (27b) and (28b) are particularly common, but that in (28a) is somewhat less common.

## 5.2 *gara* MMC and *=gede* MMC

Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 describe the two types of MMCs separately, and Section 5.2.3 compares their subtypes. Section 5.2.4 discusses the similarities and differences between *gara* and *=gede* as used in constructions other than the MMCs.

### 5.2.1 *gara* MMC

This type of MMC uses the noun *gara* ‘manner, way’ in the ‘Noun’ slot. The *gara* MMC has two subtypes: (27a) and (27b). (27b) is more common than (27a). The ‘Clause’ of the *gara* MMC with *=ti* in (27a) is largely restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective aspect, whereas the ‘Clause’ of the *gara* MMC with *=te* (FEM)/ *=ho* (MASC) in (27b) can be used in the distant perfect or the future interpretation of the imperfective aspect. (Nevertheless, I have a small number of examples of the *gara-a=ti* MMC with the distant perfect that can be used in informal speech.) Both subtypes of this MMC express the speaker’s conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the ‘Clause’ based on (i) his/her own observation of the action or state of the referent of the subject noun phrase or (ii) what s/he has heard about it from someone else: ‘It seems like ...’ or ‘It appears that ...’. The two subtypes are illustrated below.

#### [1] (27a): Clause *gara-a=ti*

In this subtype, *gara* is followed by *=ti*, the form of the predicative noun-phrase enclitic for Modified nouns (cf. Table 2). Like any other type of constituent preceding the predicate noun-phrase enclitic *=ti*, the final vowel of *gara* is lengthened to form *gara-a=ti*. Examples are given in (30)–(32).

- (30)    *ise*                      *faraššó*  
          3SG.F.NOM        horse.ACC  
          *guluf-f-anno*                      *gara-a=ti*.  
          ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3                      manner-LV=NP.PRED.MOD  
          LT: ‘She is the manner she (habitually) rides a horse.’  
          FT: ‘It seems like she (habitually) rides a horse.’

- (31)    *kawiččo gord-u*                      *t’eená*  
          here        sky-NOM.M                      rain.ACC

gan-ø-anno                      gara-a = ti.  
hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3              manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
LT: 'The sky is the manner it (regularly) hits rain here.'  
FT: 'It seems like it (regularly) rains here.'

- (32) ise                      hank'-i-t-anno  
3SG.F.NOM              get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3  
gara-a = ti.  
manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
LT: 'She is the manner she (habitually) gets angry.'  
FT: 'It seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

The *gara-a = ti* MMC is compatible only with the imperfective with the habitual interpretation, and is incompatible with any other aspectual category including the imperfective with the future interpretation.

The *gara-a = ti* MMC may look like a subjectless construction with *gara* in its literal sense as a predicate noun modified by a relative clause. However, this is not the case. Consider (11). It is a noun predicate sentence and its predicate is modified by a relative clause. Now, recall that the subject can be omitted when its referent is clear from the context (Section 3), and that a relative clause can relativize adjuncts (4.2). In the =*gede* MMC ending with =*ti*, because the predicative noun-phrase enclitic is in the form for Modified nouns, *gara* may be analyzed as being treated as a Modified noun. Thus, it may be thought that sentences like (30) to (32) are in fact noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is modified by a relative clause (like (11)), but whose subject has been omitted (unlike (11)). That is, it might be thought that, in (30) to (32), the noun *gara* is used in its literal sense 'way, manner', and is modified by a relative clause (which is prenominal), and serves as the predicate of a noun predicate sentence. According to this view, (30), for example, may appear to be able to be translated as '[It] is the manner in which she rides a horse', and (32) as '[It] is the manner in which she gets angry'. In fact, any sentence that is an instance of the *gara* MMC with =*ti* could also be interpreted as an instance of such a construction as long as the omission of the subject is obvious from the context.

First, we shall provide examples of *gara* used in its literal sense modified by a relative clause: (33) and (34).

- (33) kuni                      ise                      faraššó  
this.MASC.NOM              3SG.F.NOM              horse.ACC  
guluf-f-anno              gara-a = ti.  
ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3              manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
'This is the manner in which she (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a horse.'

- (34) kuni                      ise  
this.MASC.NOM              3SG.F.NOM

hank'-i-t-anno                      gara-a = ti.  
 get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 'This is the manner in which she (habitually) gets angry/will get angry.'

In (33) and (34), the subject could be omitted, e.g. (35) and (36), which are identical with (30) and (32), respectively. Thus, in fact, these sentences are ambiguous between the two interpretations; they are pronounced the same way regardless of the interpretation.

- (35)    ise                      faraššó  
          3SG.F.NOM          horse.ACC  
          guluf-f-anno              gara-a = ti.  
          ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3          manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
       (a) Relativized predicate noun *gara* with subject omission: '[It] is the manner in which she (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a horse.'

- (b) MMC: 'It seems like she (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a horse.'

- (36)    ise                      hank'-i-t-anno  
          3SG.F.NOM          get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3  
          gara-a = ti.  
          manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD

- (a) Relativized predicate noun *gara* with subject omission: '[It] is the manner in which she (habitually) gets angry/will get angry.'

- (b) MMC: 'It seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

However, these two constructions have three differences.

The first difference concerns conjugational categories. As mentioned earlier at the beginning of [1], in the *gara* MMC with =*ti*, if the preceding verb is in the imperfective aspect, it has only the habitual interpretation. Thus, when (35) and (36) are used as MMC sentences, they have only the habitual readings, but no future readings, e.g. (35b) and (36b). In contrast, with *gara* modified by a relative clause whose verb is in the imperfective, it has both habitual and future interpretations, e.g. (35a) and (36a) (and also (33) and (34)). In fact, in this construction, the verb of the relative clause can be in any aspect, as shown in the distant perfect example (37), which has no MMC interpretation. (As noted in 4.2, the verb in a relative clause cannot be in the recent perfect aspect.)

- (37)    ise                      hank'-i-t-ino  
          3SG.F.NOM          get.angry-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
          gara-a = ti.  
          manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
       '[It] is the manner in which she got angry.'

Therefore, sentences like (35) and (36) are ambiguous partly because the verb is in the imperfective aspect.

The second difference involves person. As mentioned in 5.1, the MMC limits the person of the subject of the ‘Clause’ to the third-person, whereas none of the relative clause constructions places such a person restriction on the subject. Thus, if the first or second person is used, as in (38), the sentence has no MMC interpretation and is unambiguously interpreted as containing the relative clause construction.

- (38)    *ati*                      *hank’-a-tt-o*  
          3SG.F.NOM          get.angry-IPFV.2-2-M  
          *gara-a = ti.*  
          manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
          ‘[It] is the manner in which you (MASC) get angry/will get angry.’

The third difference involves negation. When the negative proclitic *di*= attaches to the verb immediately preceding *gara*, in a sentence with the predicate noun *gara* used in its literal sense modified by a relative clause, the negation applies to the predicate noun phrase, e.g. (39a), whereas in a *gara-a = ti* MMC sentence, the negation applies to the verb, e.g. (39b).

- (39)    *ise*                      *di = hank’-i-t-anno*  
          3SG.F.NOM          NEG=get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3  
          *gara-a = ti.*  
          manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
          (a) Relativized predicate noun *gara* with subject omission: ‘[It]  
                 is not the manner in which she (habitually) gets angry/will get  
                 angry.’  
          (b) MMC: ‘It seems like she (habitually) does not get angry.’

To sum up, the *gara* MMC with *=ti* should not be regarded as a construction that involves a relative clause.

[2] (27b): Clause *gar-í = te* or Clause *gar-í = ho*

In this subtype, *gar-í* (the Modified genitive form of *gara*) is followed by the enclitic *=te* (FEM) or *=ho* (MASC), the forms of the singular predicative noun-phrase clitic for Unmodified nouns, adjectives, and (headless) relative clauses (Table 2).

The behavior of *gara* in this MMC is unusual. As mentioned in 5.1, although it is in the genitive case, it does not seem to involve possession. Moreover, it is the Modified genitive *gar-i* (as opposed to the Unmodified genitive *gar-u*), but the enclitic that attaches to it is in one of the forms for Unmodified nouns: *=te* (FEM) or *=ho* (MASC). Examples are shown in (40)-(42). The aspect of the verb of the ‘Clause’ in this MMC is limited to the future interpretation of the imperfective (e.g. (40) and (41)) or the distant perfect (e.g. (42)).

- (40) ise                      faraššó  
 3SG.F.NOM      horse.ACC  
 guluf-f-anno              gar-í = te.  
 ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3      manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.F.PRED  
 LT: 'She is the manner's she will ride a horse.'  
 FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'
- (41) kawiččo gord-u              t'eená  
 here      sky-NOM.M      rain.ACC  
 gan-ø-anno              gar-í = ho.  
 hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3      manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.M.PRED  
 LT: 'The sky is the manner's it will rain here.'  
 FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'
- (42) ise                      hank'-i-t-ino  
 3SG.F.NOM      get.angry-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
 gar-í = te.  
 manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.F.PRED  
 LT: 'She is the manner's she got angry.'  
 FT: 'It seems like she got angry.'

This MMC seems to be usually used for events whose occurrences are considered important enough to be conjectured about. It is normally not used for events like 'fastening a horse' or 'eating cabbage'.

### [3] 'Clause' as a sentence

As noted in 5.1, in the *gara* MMC, the 'Clause' can stand by itself as a complete sentence. Specifically, the 'Clause' of the *gara-a=ti* MMC requires the verb of the 'Clause' to be in the imperfective aspect, and that of the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC requires the verb of the 'Clause' to be in the imperfective aspect or the distant perfect. When the 'Clause' is used as a complete sentence, the verb in the imperfective aspect has both the habitual and the future interpretations, but the imperfective verb has only the habitual interpretation in the *gara-a=ti* MMC, and has only the future interpretation in the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC. Compare (43) with (30) and (40); (44) with (31) and (41); (45) with (32).

- (43) ise                      faraššó  
 3SG.F.NOM      horse.ACC  
 guluf-f-anno.  
 ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3  
 'She (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a horse.'
- (44) kawiččo gord-u              t'eená  
 here      sky-NOM.M      rain.ACC  
 gan-ø-anno.  
 hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3



‘It (regularly) rains here/will rain here.’  
 ‘lit. The sky (regularly) hits rain here/will hit rain here.’

- (45) ise                      hank’-i-t-anno.  
 3SG.F.NOM      get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3  
 ‘She (habitually) gets angry/will get angry.’

[4] The *gara* MMC possesses all of the properties of the prototype of the MMC (Section 1). First, regarding MMC property (a), it has the structure shown in (1). Second, concerning MMC property (b), in (30), for example, the subject (‘she’) and the ‘Noun’ (‘manner’) are not coreferential. Third, as for MMC property (c), the ‘Clause’ can be used as a sentence by itself.

### 5.2.2 =*gede* MMC

The enclitic =*gede*, which is phonologically bound to various types of constituents, has a sense similar to the noun *gara* ‘manner, way’, and shares some grammatical properties with it, as discussed later in 5.2.4.2.

=*gede* seems to have been grammaticalized from a noun. It still bears some properties of nouns (e.g. compatibility with the ablative-instrumental suffix and the dative-locative suffix, and modification by some nominal modifiers). However, unlike nouns, it has no lexical gender. It cannot be accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix or any other noun suffix than the ablative-instrumental suffix and the dative-locative suffix.

The =*gede* MMC has two subtypes: (28a) and (28b). (28b) is more common than (28a). The verb of the ‘Clause’ in both subtypes can be in the imperfective (future interpretations only), the distant perfect, and the progressive. The =*gede-e=ti* MMC additionally allows the verb of the ‘Clause’ to be in the recent perfect, and the =*gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* additionally allows it to be in the continuous. We shall look at each of the two subtypes.

#### [1] (28a): Clause=*gede-e=ti*

In this subtype, =*gede* is followed by =*ti*, the form of the singular predicative noun-phrase enclitic for Modified nouns (cf. Table 2). Examples include (46)-(48). Compare (46) with (30) and (40).

- (46) ise                      faraššó  
 3SG.F.NOM      horse.ACC  
 guluf-f-anno = *gede-e=ti*.  
 ride-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NP.C.PRED.MOD  
 LT: ‘She is like she will ride a horse.’  
 FT: ‘It seems like she will ride a horse.’

- (47) kawiččo gord-u                      t’eená  
 here      sky-NOM.M      rain.ACC  
 gan-ø-anno = *gede-e=ti*.  
 hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3 = like-LV=NP.C.PRED.MOD

LT: 'The sky is like it will hit rain here.'

FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

- (48) ise  
3SG.F.NOM  
hank'-i-t-u = gede-e = ti.  
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-R.PRF.3 = like-LV = NPC.PRED.MOD  
LT: 'She is like she got/is angry.'  
FT: 'It seems like she got/is angry.'

[2] (28b): Clause = *gede-e = te* or Clause = *gede-e = ho*  
In this subtype, =*gede* is followed by the enclitic =*te* (FEM) or =*ho* (MASC), the forms of the singular predicative noun-phrase enclitic for Unmodified nouns and adjectives (Table 2). The verb at the end of the 'Clause' may be in the imperfective (future), the distant perfect, the continuous, or the progressive. Examples include (49)-(51). Compare (49) with (30), (40), and (46).

- (49) ise                      faraššó  
3SG.F.NOM              horse.ACC  
guluf-f-anno = gede-e = te.  
ride-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 = like-LV = NPC.F.PRED  
LT: 'She is like she will ride a horse.'  
FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'

- (50) kawiččo gord-u              t'eená  
here      sky-NOM.M              rain.ACC  
gan-ø-anno = gede-e = ho.  
hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3 = like-LV = NPC.M.PRED  
LT: 'The sky is like it will hit rain here.'  
FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

- (51) ise                      hank'-i-t-e  
3SG.F.NOM              get.angry-EP-3SG.F-CNV.3  
no = gede-e = te.  
come.to.exit.3 = like-LV = NPC.F.PRED  
LT: 'She is like she has been angry.' (continuous aspect)  
FT: 'It seems like she has been angry.'

[3] 'Clause' as a sentence  
The 'Clause' which precedes =*gede-e = ti* or =*gede-e = te* / =*gede-e = ho* can stand by itself as a complete sentence. Compare, for example, (48) with (52) and (51) with (53).

- (52) ise                      hank'-i-t-u.  
3SG.F.NOM              get.angry-EP-3SG.F-R.PRF.3  
'She got/is angry.'

- (53) ise                      hank'-i-t-e  
       3SG.F.NOM        get.angry-EP-3SG.F-CNV.3  
       no.  
       come.to.exit.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED  
       'She has been angry (continuous aspect).'

[4] The =*gede* MMC does not conform to the prototype of the MMC (cf. Section 1). Indeed, it has MMC property (c): the 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself. However, crucially, it lacks property (a), for the 'Noun' is occupied not by a noun, but an enclitic.

### 5.2.3 Differences between the *gara* MMC subtypes and the =*gede* MMC subtypes

The subtypes of these two types of MMCs are similar to each other, but they have some differences. Specifically, there are the following differences. [1] A difference between the *gara-a=ti* MMC and the other three *gara*≠*gede* MMC subtypes (the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC, the =*gede-e=ti* MMC, and the =*gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC). [2] Differences between the =*gede-e=ti* MMC and the two MMC subtypes with =*te* (FEM)/ =*ho* (MASC) (the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC and the =*gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC).

[1] A difference between the *gara-a=ti* MMC and the other three *gara*≠*gede* MMC subtypes

As mentioned earlier, only the *gara-a=ti* MMC is compatible with the habitual reading of the imperfective aspect (5.2.1-[1], -[3]), while the other three yield future readings with the imperfective aspect. Compare (30) with (40), (46), and (49), and additionally compare (31) with (41), (47), and (50).

[2] Differences between the =*gede-e=ti* MMC and the two MMC subtypes with =*te* (FEM)/ =*ho* (MASC)

Setting aside the *gara-a=ti* MMC, which is aspectually limited, the =*gede-e=ti* MMC differs from the two MMC subtypes with =*te* (FEM)/ =*ho* (MASC) (the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC and the =*gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC) in two respects.

One difference concerns the degree of the speaker's confidence in his/her conjecture on the truthfulness of the content of the 'Clause'. The speaker has more information about the probability of the content of the 'Clause', and is more confident, with the =*gede-e=ti* MMC than with the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC and the =*gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC. Thus, the =*gede-e=ti* MMC example (47) is not compatible with a temporal adverb like *ga'a* 'tomorrow', and goes much better with a temporal adverb like *teččo* 'today'. On the other hand, the examples of the other two MMC subtypes, (41) and (50), can contain either adverb.

Second, in the =*gede-e=ti* MMC, the subject can be either animate or inanimate (e.g. (46)-(48), (54), (57), (60), (63)). In contrast, in the =*gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC, the subject basically cannot be inanimate and has to be an animate entity or a natural entity that can act like animate ones (e.g.

sky, earth, wind) when the verb is not in the imperfective (e.g. (51), (55), (58), (61)), though the subject can be either animate or inanimate when the verb is in the imperfective (e.g. (49), (50), (64)). In the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC, the subject basically cannot be non-human, and has to be human when the verb is not in the imperfective (e.g. (42), (56), (59)), though the subject can be either animate or inanimate when the verb is in the imperfective (e.g. (40), (41), (65)).

- (54) mobaile  
cell.phone.NOM.F  
k'arris-s-ino = gede-e = ti.  
cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
LT: 'The cell phone is like it caused a problem.'  
FT: 'It seems like the cell phone went out of order.'
- (55) \*mobaile  
cell.phone.NOM.F  
k'arris-s-ino = gede-e = te.  
cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
- (56) \*mobaile                      k'arris-s-ino  
cell.phone.NOM.F              cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
gar-í = te.  
manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.F.PRED
- (57) wošičč-u  
dog-NOM.M  
dot-ø-ino = gede-e = ti.  
bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
LT: 'The dog is like it barked.'  
FT: 'It seems like the dog barked.'
- (58) wošičč-u  
dog-NOM.M  
dot-ø-ino = gede-e = ho.  
bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED  
LT: 'The dog is like it barked.'  
FT: 'It seems like the dog barked.'
- (59) \*wošičč-u              dot-ø-ino  
dog-NOM.M              bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3  
gar-í = ho.  
manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.M.PRED
- (60) kawiččo gord-u              t'eená  
here      sky-NOM.M              rain.ACC

gan-ø-ino = gede-e = ti.  
 bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 LT: 'The sky is like it hit rain here.'  
 FT: 'It seems like it rained here.'

- (61) kawiččo gord-u t'eená  
 here sky-NOM.M rain.ACC  
 gan-ø-ino = gede-e = ho.  
 hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED  
 LT: 'The sky is like it hit rain here.'  
 FT: 'It seems like it rained here.'
- (62) ?kawiččo gord-u t'eená  
 here sky-NOM.M rain.ACC  
 gan-ø-ino gar-í = ho.  
 hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3 manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.M.PRED
- (63) mobaile  
 cell.phone.NOM.F  
 k'arris-s-anno = gede-e = ti.  
 cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 LT: 'The cell phone is like it will cause a problem.'  
 FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'
- (64) mobaile  
 cell.phone.NOM.F  
 k'arris-s-anno = gede-e = te.  
 cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED  
 LT: 'The cell phone is like it will cause a problem.'  
 FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'
- (65) mobaile k'arris-s-anno  
 cell.phone.NOM.F cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3  
 gar-í = te.  
 manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.F.PRED  
 LT: 'The cell phone is the manner's it will cause a problem.'  
 FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'

#### 5.2.4 Comparison of *gara* and =gede outside the MMCs

We shall now examine the properties that *gara* and =gede may have when they are used outside the MMCs: the properties found in *gara* only (5.2.4.1), those found in both (5.2.4.2), and those found in =gede only (5.2.4.3).

Table 3 provides a summary of this comparison. The check and the asterisk indicate that the morpheme in question has, and does not have, this property, respectively.

*gara* has most of the properties that other nouns have, while =gede has only limited nominal properties.

Table 3: Comparison of *gara* and *=gede*

		Properties	<i>gara</i>	<i>=gede</i>
5.2.4.1	[1]	Lexical gender	√	*
	[2]	Modification by Modifiers	√	*
	[3]	Use as an adjective	√	*
	[4]	Genitive case	√	*
	[5]	Constituting an argument	√	*/√
5.2.4.2	[1]	Occurrence with the ABLINS suffix and the DATLOC suffix	√	√
	[2]	Formation of adverbials ‘like/as ...’ (manner) and ‘as if ...’ (counterfactual)	√	√
	[3]	Use in manner continuation constructions	√	√
	[4]	Formation of causal and concessive clauses	√	√
	[5]	MMC	√	√
5.2.4.3	[1]	Purpose clause ‘so that ...’ and the periphrastic causative construction	*	√
	[2]	Use as a complementizer	*	√
	[3]	Use as the marker of comparison in a type of equative construction	*	√
	[4]	Use in the construction ‘adj-GEN ... =NPC.PRED’	*	√

5.2.4.1 *Properties found in gara only.* The noun *gara* ‘manner, way’ has lexical properties that other nouns have, whereas the enclitic *=gede* lacks most of them.

[1] Lexical gender

*gara* has its own lexical gender, unlike *=gede*. It is a masculine noun, and shows morphosyntactic properties of masculine nouns. The subject noun *gara* is Modified by the genitive pronoun in (66), and by the possessive pronominal suffix in (67). Consequently it is marked with *-i*, the nominative suffix for Modified masculine nouns (cf. Table 1). Also, the noun phrase *isé gar-i* in (66) and the noun phrase *gar-i-se* in (67) are treated as masculine, as indicated on the pronominal suffix for the third-person masculine subject: *-ø*.

- (66) *isé*                      *gar-i*  
 3SG.F.GEN              manner-NOM.M.MOD  
*ané-ra*  
 1SG.GEN-DATLOC.PRON  
*di = law-ø-ino-’e*.  
 NEG-become.clear-3SG.M-PRF.3-1SG  
 ‘I don’t understand/don’t feel comfortable with her manner.’  
 (lit. ‘Her manner did not become clear to me.’)

- (67) gar-i-se  
 manner-NOM.M.MOD-3SG.F.POSS  
 ané-ra  
 1SG.GEN-DATLOC.PRON  
 di = law-ø-ino-'e.  
 NEG-become.clear-3SG.M-PRF.3-1SG  
 'I don't understand/don't feel comfortable with her manner.'  
 (*lit.* 'Her manner did not become clear to me.')

[2] Modification by Modifiers

*gara* can be Modified by Modifiers, i.e. modified by nominal modifiers such as an adnominal demonstrative, e.g. (68) ('this'), an adjective, a genitive pronoun, e.g. (66) (*isé* 'her') and relative clauses, e.g. (69) ('in which she behaves'), and accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix, e.g. (67) (-*se* [-3SG.F.POSS]).

- (68) konní                      gar-í-nni  
 this.GEN.NOM   manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS  
 hee'r-ø-e-e = nna                      ...  
 live-3SG.M-CNV-LV=and  
 'They lived like this (*lit.* using this manner), and ...'
- (69) ani                      ise                      ikk-i-t-anno  
 1SG.NOM                      3SG.F.NOM                      behave-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3  
 gara                      di=bat'-ee-mm-o.  
 manner(ACC)                      NEG=like-IPFV.1-1SG-M  
 'I (MASC) don't like the way in which she behaves.'

In contrast, =*gede* can be neither modified by an adnominal demonstrative nor accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix, though it may attach to (but not 'be modified/Modified by') adjectives, genitive noun phrases, and clauses (Section 5.2.4.2).

[3] Use as an adjective

In Sidaama, where nouns share many properties with adjectives, there are cases where nouns are used as adjectives (and vice versa). The noun *gara* can also be used as an adjective that means 'true', 'appropriate', or 'well-mannered (often, in the negative)', e.g. (70)-(72).

- (70) baššo    ann-i-'ya  
 past    father-NOM.M.MOD-1SG.POSS  
 y-ø-ino = ti                      t'a  
 say-3SG.M-D-PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM                      now  
 la'-ee-mm-o                      woite    gara = ho.  
 look-IPFV.1-1SG-M                      when    true=NPC.M.PRED  
 'The thing that my father said in the past is true when I (MASC)  
 look at it now.'

- (71) loos-i-kki  
 job-NOM.M.MOD-2SG.POSS  
 di = gara = ho = na ...  
 NEG-appropriate=NPC.M.PRED=and  
 ‘The things you have done (*lit.* your job) are not appropriate,  
 and ...’
- (72) isi di=gara=ho.  
 3SG.M.NOM NEG=well-mannered=NPC.M.PRED  
 ‘He is not well-mannered.’

On the other hand, =*gede* has no such use.

[4] Genitive case

Like other nouns, *gara* can be marked with the genitive case suffix, e.g. (68), but =*gede* cannot.

[5] Constituting an argument

*gara* can constitute an argument, and when it does, it normally comes at the end of the noun phrase, e.g. (66), (67), (73).

- (73) isi manná ass-i-n-e  
 3SG.M.NOM people.ACC do-EP-GENERAL-CNV  
 š-i-n-a-nni gara  
 kill-EP-GENERAL-INF-MANNER way(ACC)  
 egenn-ø-ino.  
 come.to.know-3SG.M-D.PRF.3  
 ‘He knows how to kill people.’  
 (*lit.* ‘He came to know the way to do and kill people.’)

On the other hand, =*gede* does not seem to be able to constitute an argument. Nevertheless, complement clauses formed with =*gede* as a complement (5.2.4.3) could be treated as arguments, though it is not obvious whether or not such clauses (noun clauses; Dryer 2007: 203-204) can be considered an object of the main verb.

5.2.4.2 *Properties found in both gara and =gede.* These properties are observed in four constructions in addition to the MMCs. All the constructions except the MMCs are adverbial — either adverbial phrases or adverbial clauses.

[1] Occurrence with the ABLINS suffix and the DATLOC suffix

The ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni* and the dative-locative suffix *-ra* can attach to *gara* and =*gede*, though no other case suffix can attach to =*gede*. Examples are given in (68) and in (82)–(87) below.



Both *gara* and *=gede* (and also their forms with the ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni* or the dative-locative suffix *-ra*) can constitute an adverbial that indicates a manner, 'like/as ...', when preceded by a clause, e.g. (74), (75), or by a genitive noun phrase, e.g. (76), (77). The meaning that the construction conveys is 'in the manner specified by the preceding clause' or 'in a manner similar to that of the referent of the preceding genitive noun phrase'.

- Both *gara* and *=gede* can form adverbials of manner with some adjectives, e.g. (78) and (79).

- (78) isi                      danča    gara    daah-ø-ino.  
       3SG.M.NOM        good    manner swim-3SG.M-D.PRF  
       ‘He swam well.’
- (79) isi                      danča = gede    daah-ø-ino.  
       3SG.M.NOM        good=like       swim-3SG.M-D.PRF  
       ‘He swam well.’

Both *gara* and *=gede* can also form an adverbial clause ‘as if ...’ (counterfactual), where *gara* immediately follows or *=gede* directly attaches to the verb of the subordinate clause in the distant perfect, e.g. (80) and (81). In this construction, *gara* and *=gede* can be optionally followed by the converb form of the verb *ikk-* ‘behave’.

- (80) ise                      lowo    re  
       3SG.F.NOM        many    things(ACC.mod)  
       af-f-ino                                      gara  
       get.to.know-3SG.F-D.PRF.3            as.if  
       (ikk-i-t-e)                                      c’oid-d-anno.  
       (behave-EP-3SG.F-CNV) talk-3SG.F-IPFV.3  
       ‘She talks as if she knew many things.’
- (81) ise                      lowo    re  
       3SG.F.NOM        many    things(ACC.mod)  
       af-f-ino = gede  
       get.to.know-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=as.if  
       (ikk-i-t-e)                                      c’oid-d-anno.  
       (behave-EP-3SG.F-CNV) talk-3SG.F-IPFV.3  
       ‘She talks as if she knew many things.’

[3] Use in manner continuation constructions

Forms of *gara* and *=gede* with the ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni*, *gar-í-nni* [manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS] or *=gede-e-nni* [like-LV-ABLINS], can follow a manner of motion verb to emphasize the continuation or repetition of the manner before the occurrence of the motion component expressed by the main verb, e.g. (82) and (83). (Without the suffix *-nni*, neither *gara* nor *=gede* can be used this way.)

- (82) ise                      kubb-i-t-ino  
       3SG.F.NOM        jump-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
       gar-í-nni                                      waá  
       manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS    water.LOC  
       e’-’-u.  
       enter-3SG.F-R.PRF.3  
       ‘Continuously jumping, she entered the water.’

- (83) ise  
 3SG.F.NOM  
 kubb-i-t-ino = gede-e-nni  
 jump-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV-ABLINS  
 waá e'-'-u.  
 water.LOC enter-3SG.F-R.PRF.3  
 'Continuously jumping, she entered the water.'

[4] Formation of causal and concessive clauses

Both *gara* and *=gede* can follow a verb to form a causal clause ('because ...') or a concessive clause ('even though ...'). They often take the following form: (i) *gar-í-nni* [manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS], e.g. (84), or *=gede-nni* [=like-ABLINS], e.g. (85), in a causal clause, and (ii) *gar-í-ra* [manner-GEN.M.MOD-DATLOC.MOD], e.g. (86), and *=gede-ra* [=like-DATLOC.MOD] in a concessive clause, e.g. (87).

- (84) t'eená gan-ø-ino  
 rain hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3  
 gar-í-nni baatto  
 manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS ground.NOM.F  
 k'uf-f-ino.  
 become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
 'Because it rained, the ground is/became wet.'  
 (lit. 'With the manner (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')
- (85) t'eená gan-ø-ino=gede-nni  
 rain hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-ABLINS  
 baatto k'uf-f-ino.  
 ground.NOM.F become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
 'Because it rained, the ground is/became wet.'  
 (lit. 'With like (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')
- (86) t'eená gan-ø-ino  
 rain hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3  
 gar-í-ra  
 manner-GEN.M.MOD-DATLOC.MOD  
 baatto di = k'uf-f-ino.  
 ground.NOM.F NEG=become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
 'Even though it rained, the ground is not/has not become wet.'  
 (lit. 'To the manner (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')
- (87) t'eená gan-ø-ino=gede-ra  
 rain hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-DATLOC.MOD  
 baatto di = k'uf-f-ino.  
 ground.NOM.F NEG=become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
 'Even though it rained, the ground is not/has not become wet.'  
 (lit. 'To like (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

5.2.4.3 *Properties found in =gede only.* There are four types of constructions where =gede can occur, but gara cannot.

[1] Purpose clause ‘so that ...’ and the periphrastic causative construction  
The enclitic =gede occupies the final position of a subordinate clause that expresses a purpose, e.g. (88). The verb preceding =gede is in the imperfective aspect.

- (88) lubboo-nke = nna                      gangoota                      č’alla  
       life.NOM.F-1PL.POSS=and    mule.PL.NOM.F    only  
       gati-n-s-ee-mmo = gede                      waa  
       save-1PL-save-IPFV.1-1PL=so.that                      water  
       wido-o-nni                      jawaa-n-t-e  
       other.side-LV-LOC                      hurry-1PL-hurry-CNV  
       ful-lo.  
       cross-IMP.1PL  
       ‘Let us cross the river to the other side quickly so that we will save  
       only our lives and mules.’

Also, =gede occurs in the periphrastic causative construction, e.g. (89).  
*ass-* ‘to do’ is the main verb and the =gede clause preceding it expresses the result of causation. The verb in the =gede clause is in the imperfective aspect, and =gede is optional. This construction could be regarded as one type of ‘so that’ construction.

- (89) isi                      haariim-ø-anno-woite  
       3SG.M.NOM    make.a.joke-3SG.M-IPFV.3-when  
       mann-u                      bat’-ø-i-kki-nni  
       people-NOM.M    come.to.like-3SG.M-R.PRF.3-NEG-ABLINS  
       muušši                      ya-ø-anno( = gede)  
       [meaningless]    say-3SG.M-IPFV.3(=so.that)  
       ass-ø-anno.  
       do-3SG.M-IPFV.3  
       ‘When he makes a joke, he makes people show their teeth (*lit.* say  
       *muušši*) unconsciously (*lit.* without coming to like it).’

[2] Use as a complementizer  
 =gede can occur at the end of a clause to form a clausal complement, e.g. (90) and (91). (90) is an instance of a ‘jussive construction’, where the person who is told and the subject of the clausal complement are identical. (91) is an instance of a reported speech construction, where they are different from each other.

- (90) isi                      ga’a                      isí = wa  
       3SG.M.NOM    tomorrow                      3SG.M.GEN=place  
       hač-d-anno=gede  
       go-3SG.F-IPFV.3=COMP

kul-ø-ino-se.

tell-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F

'He told her to come (*lit.* go) to his place tomorrow.'

- (91) isi                      ga'a                      isé=wa  
3SG.M.NOM      tomorrow      3SG.F.GEN=place  
ha'r-ø-anno=gede  
go-3SG.M-IPFV.3=COMP  
kul-ø-ino-se.  
tell-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F  
'He told her that he would go to her place tomorrow.'

[3] Use as the marker of comparison in a type of equative construction  
There are two types of equative constructions, and one of them involves =*gede*. =*gede* attaches to the end of the genitive noun phrase that refers to the standard of comparison, e.g. (92). The final vowel of =*gede* is optionally lengthened as =*gede-e*.

- (92) ise                      isí = gede                      hojjameette=te.  
3SG.F.NOM.M      3SG.M.GEN=like      tall.F=NPC.F.PRED  
'She is as tall as him.'

[4] Use in the construction 'adj-GEN ... =NPC.PRED'  
In this construction, =*gede* is preceded by the genitive case form of an adjective, and is followed by the predicate noun-phrase enclitic for Unmodified nouns (= *te* (FEM)/= *ho* (MASC)), e.g. (93), (94). Like the *gara* MMC and the =*gede* MMC, the construction expresses an evidential meaning: 'the speaker's conjecture on the referent of the subject noun phrase's possession of the property expressed by the adjective, based on the speaker's own perception or the information s/he obtained from someone else'.

- (93) ise                      buša-te=gede-e=te.  
3SG.F.NOM      bad-GEN.F=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED  
'It seems like she is bad.'
- (94) isi                      buš-u=gede-e=ho.  
3SG.M.NOM      bad-GEN.M=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED  
'It seems like he is bad.'

We saw (cf. Table 3) that *gara* has the properties of nouns, but =*gede* does not (5.2.4.1). We also saw that =*gede* can function as an adverbial clause marker or complementizer in various constructions, but *gara* cannot (5.2.4.3). (The properties examined in 5.2.4.2 are shared by both of them, though.) As noted in Section 1, the etymological relationship between them is not clear. Nonetheless, it is certain that =*gede* is more grammaticalized than *gara*.

### 5.3 DATLOC MMC

The structure of this type of MMC is shown in (29). The verb with the infinitive suffix *-a* and the agreement suffix(es) (the person/number suffix and the gender suffix in the case of the first and second person singular; the person/number suffix in the case of the first and second person plural; the person/number/gender suffix in the case of the third person) is followed by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*, the lengthened vowel *-a*, and the predicative noun-phrase clitic for Modified nouns =*ti*. That is, the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*. It has the meaning of the proximative aspect: ‘be about to do ...’. Examples include (4) and (95)-(97).

- (95) k’aakk’-u  
 baby-NOM.M  
 wi’l-ø-a-ra-a=ti.  
 cry-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 ‘The baby boy is about to cry.’
- (96) hamašš-u            balé-si            giddo-ra  
 snake-NOM.M    hole(GEN.F.MOD)-3SG.POSS    inside-ALL  
 e’-ø-a-ra-a=ti.  
 enter-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 ‘The snake is about to enter its hole.’
- (97) ninke  
 1PL.NOM  
 go-n-t’-a-mmo-ra-a=ti.  
 sleep-1PL-sleep-INF-1PL-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 ‘We are about to sleep.’

The DATLOC MMC does not conform to the prototype of the MMC (Section 1). First, regarding MMC property (a), the ‘Noun’ slot is occupied not by a noun, but by a suffix.<sup>1</sup> Second, concerning MMC property (c), the predicate of the ‘Clause’ cannot be used as a sentence by itself. The predicate is a verb in one of its two agreement-inflected infinitive forms (the other inflected infinitive is irrelevant to and is not dealt with in the present paper), not in any of its finite forms.

As noted above, this type of MMC has the meaning of proximative aspect. It generally describes future events, e.g. (4) and (95) to (97). However, it may concern future events viewed from the past: ‘was/were about to do ...’. In order to express this specifically, the MMC is followed by the past tense marker =*nka* or *hee’r-ø-i* [live-3SG.M-R.PRF.3], whose form is invariable regardless of the person, number, and gender of the subject. Examples are given in (98) and (99).

- (98) hamašš-u            balé-si                            giddo-ra  
 snake-NOM.M    hole(GEN.F.MOD)-3SG.POSS    inside-ALL  
 e'-ø-a-ra-a=ti = nka.  
 enter-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD=PAST  
 'The snake was about to enter its hole.'
- (99) ninke  
 1PL.NOM  
 go-n-t'-a-mmo-ra-a=ti  
 sleep-1PL-sleep-INF-1PL-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 hee'r-ø-i.  
 live-3SG.M-R.PRF.3  
 'We were about to sleep.'

## 6. Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions

Table 4 compares the three types of MMCs with relative clauses, verb-predicate sentences, adjective-predicate sentences, and noun-predicate sentences, in terms of the following.

- (a) Animacy and person of the subject.
- (b) Acceptability of the aspectual categories.
- (c) Occurrence with the singular noun-phrase enclitic ('NPC').

The animacy and person of the subject and the aspectual categories acceptable in the MMCs were discussed in the relevant subsections of Section 5. The forms of the singular noun-phrase enclitic were shown in Table 2. The use of this enclitic was discussed for some of the constructions shown in Table 4. (As mentioned in connection with Table 2, the plural form is not relevant to the theme of the present paper.)

The *gar-í = te/gar-í = ho* MMC and the *=gede-e = te/=gede-e = ho* MMC — unlike the *gara-a = ti* MMC, the *=gede-e = ti* MMC, the DATLOC MMC, and the other types of constructions — restrict the subject to human or animate entities and those that can be considered equivalent to them when the verb is not in the imperfective, though this restriction does not apply when the verb is in the imperfective.

The *gara* and *=gede* MMCs are quite different from the DATLOC MMC and the other types of constructions in that they allow only the third person as subject. These MMCs have an evidential meaning, and are useful for talking about a third person's feelings when the speaker is not sure about them, but they are not used for the conversation participants' own actions or states, which are obvious or easily accessible to the speaker.

In terms of aspectual categories, the DATLOC MMC is different from the other types of MMCs and also from verb predicate sentences. Its verb does not have any aspectual category. It has the infinitive suffix and an

agreement suffix(es), followed by the dative-locative suffix and a predicative noun-phrase enclitic.

Verb-predicate sentences do not employ a noun-phrase enclitic, and in this respect they differ from all the other constructions. That is, regarding the occurrence of a noun-phrase enclitic, the MMCs and relative clauses exhibit similar behavior.

We shall now turn to syntactic aspects of these constructions.

This has not been discussed explicitly, although it has been exemplified amply. Namely, across the constructions listed in Table 4, argument noun phrases are marked in the same way. The subject noun phrase is in the nominative case, the direct object noun phrase is in the accusative case, and the indirect object noun phrase is in the dative-locative case.

In relative clauses (or adnominal clauses) in Japanese (see Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.3.2), the subject can exhibit nominative/genitive conversion, but in Sidaama, no construction listed in Table 4 can show such an alternation.

Thus, in terms of syntax, the MMCs are similar to both relative clauses and independent sentences (verb-predicate sentences, adjective-predicate sentences, and noun-predicate sentences), but overall, the MMCs are more similar to relative clauses than to independent sentences as far as the phenomena examined are concerned.

Table 4: Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions

grammatical property construction	examples	Animacy and person of subject	Aspectual categories	Occurrence with NPC
Relative clause	(11), (13)- (26), (33)-(39)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	all aspect categories	relative clause can be directly followed by the NPC inflected for corresponding gender and case (has to be directly followed by the NPC when there is no common noun head)
<i>gara-a = ti</i> MMC	(2), (30)- (32), (35)- (36), (39), (115)	animate and inanimate; third person only	habitual imperfective (sometimes, distant perfect in informal speech)	<i>gara</i> directly followed by <i>= ti</i>
<i>gar-í = te / gar- í = ho</i> MMC	(40)- (42), (65)	human (and non- human in the imperfect	distant perfect or future imperfective	<i>gara</i> directly followed by <i>= te</i> (FEM)/ <i>= ho</i> (MASC)



		ive); third person only		
= <i>gede-e</i> = <i>ti</i> MMC	(3), (46)- (48), (54), (57), (60), (63), (100)- (101), (113), (117)	animate and inanimat e; third person only	future imperfective, distant perfect, recent perfect, or progressive	= <i>gede</i> directly followed by = <i>ti</i>
= <i>gede-</i> <i>e</i> = <i>te</i> / = <i>gede-</i> <i>e</i> = <i>ho</i> MMC	(49)- (51), (58), (61), (64)	animate (and inanimat e in the imperfect ive); third person only	future imperfective, distant perfect, continuous, or progressive	= <i>gede</i> directly followed by = <i>te</i> (FEM)/ = <i>ho</i> (MASC)
DATLOC MMC	(4), (95)- (99), (110b)	animate and inanimat e; first, second, and third persons	proximative aspect expressed by the construction itself	= <i>ra</i> directly followed by = <i>ti</i>
Verb pred. sentence	(5), (6), (13)- (22), (24)- (26), (43)- (45), (52), (66)- (67), (69), (73)- (91), (102), (104), (106), (108)	animate and inanimat e; first, second, and third persons	all aspect categories	*



hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.  
 get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 LT: 'With respect to appearance she is like she will get angry'  
 FT: 'It seems like she will get angry.'

What was stated about the =gede-e=ti MMC applies to the gara MMC and the =gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho MMC, as well.

Importantly, *ordo* is the only noun whose nominative or accusative-oblique form can be added to the MMCs as in (100) and (101). Furthermore, the set of requirements on the animacy and person of the subject and aspectual categories for each MMC subtype (discussed in Section 5 and summarized in Table 4) applies to constructions like (100) and (101), depending on the subtype.

As noted above, *ordo* 'appearance' itself is not used as part of either MMC. Nevertheless, it is possible, though by no means certain, that either the gara MMC or the =gede MMC, or both, originated in sentences that contain a noun such as *ordo* 'appearance'. As shown in Tsunoda (this volume-a) and other chapters in the present volume, many nouns that occupy the 'Noun' slot in MMCs have the meaning of 'appearance', 'shape', 'sight' or the like, and such an MMC has an evidential meaning: 'It appears/looks/seems'.

## 7.2 Why Sidaama has the DATLOC MMC

Again, it is difficult to figure out why this type of MMC exists in Sidaama. Nonetheless, there is one construction that may be relevant: the cleft construction.

The Sidaama cleft construction takes the form 'clause =hu ... =ti' (or '... =ti clause =hu'). Its subject consists of a clause and the nominative singular masculine noun-phrase enclitic =hu, and the predicate is a focused constituent followed by the predicated noun-phrase enclitic =ti. Any type of constituent other than the subject of the clause can be extracted. Compare (102) and (103) (direct object) with (104) and (105) (indirect object). (In the examples of the cleft construction, the subject is underlined.)

- (102) laatto                      buné                      la'-'-ino.  
       Laatto(NOM.F)    Bune.ACC                      see-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
       'Laatto saw Bune.'

- (103) laatto                      la'-'-ino=hu  
       Laatto(NOM.F)    see-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM  
       bune-e=ti.  
       Bune-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
       'It is Bune who Laatto saw.'

- (104) bune                      wot'é                      laattó-ra  
       Bune(NOM.F)    money.ACC                      Laatto.GEN.F-DATLOC.PROP

u-i-t-ino.  
 give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3  
 'Bune gave money to Laatto'.

- (105) bune wot'é  
 Bune(NOM.F) money.ACC  
u-i-t-ino=hu  
 give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NP.C.M.NOM  
 laattó-ra-a=ti.  
 Laatto.GEN.F-DATLOC.PROP-LV=NP.C.PRED.MOD  
 'It is Laatto who Bune gave money to.'

Adverbial clauses, too, can be extracted. Compare (106) and (107) (cause) and (108) and (109) (purpose).

- (106) beett-i-si  
 child-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS  
 t'iss-am-ø-ino-daafera  
 cause.sickness-PASS-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-because  
 min-í-si-ra  
 house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL  
 keešš-ø-e mar-ø-ino.  
 become.late-3SG.M-CNV arrive-3SG.M-D.PRF.3  
 'He arrived home late because his son was sick.'

- (107) min-í-si-ra  
 house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL  
keešš-ø-e  
 become.late-3SG.M-CNV  
mar-ø-ino=hu  
 arrive-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=NP.C.M.NOM  
 beett-i-si  
 child-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS  
 t'iss-am-ø-ino-daafera-a=ti.  
 cause.sickness-PASS-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-because-  
 LV=NP.C.PRED.MOD  
 'It is because his son was sick that he arrived home late.'

- (108) sagalé hid-d-i-t-a-ra  
 food.ACC buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC  
 beettó-si-ra wot'é  
 child.GEN.F-3SG.M.POSS-DATLOC.MOD.M money(ACC)  
 u-ø-ino.  
 give-3SG.M-D.PRF.3  
 'He gave money to his daughter so that she could buy food.'

- (109) beettó-si-ra wot'é  
 child.GEN.F-3SG.M.POSS-DATLOC.MOD.M money(ACC)  
u-ø-ino=hu (ise)  
 give-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM  
 sagalé  
 food.ACC  
 hid-ǵ-i-t-a-ra-a=ti.  
 buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 'It is in order for his daughter to buy food that he gave money to her.'

As mentioned in Section 3, in Sidaama, the subject is often omitted when its referent is clear from the context. Hence, if the subject of (109) (the underlined portion) is omitted, the resultant sentence is (110). It can be translated as in (110a).

- (110) (ise) sagalé  
 3SG.F.NOM food.ACC  
 hid-ǵ-i-t-a-ra-a=ti.  
 buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 (a) Clefting: '[It] is in order for her to buy food.'  
 (b) MMC: 'She is about to buy food.'

In fact, the predicate part of the cleft construction extracting a purpose clause has exactly the same structure as the DATLOC MMC. Both contain the infinitive suffix and the dative-locative suffix (cf. (29) and 5.3). Therefore, (110) can also be interpreted as an MMC sentence, as shown in (110b).

It is possible, though not certain, that the DATLOC MMC and elliptical cleft sentences such as (110) are diachronically related. In this connection, it is useful to mention the following. It has been reported that it is very common for a purpose marker to become an infinitive verb form (Haspelmath 1989), which has a nuance of incompleteness and is often used for an event that has not been realized.

### 7.3 Another possible origin of the gara MMC and the =gede MMC

There is another possible origin of the *gara* MMC and the =gede MMC. This, too, involves the cleft construction. (Strictly speaking, the scenario presented below is somewhat simplified for the sake of exposition.) The verb *lab-* 'appear' takes a clausal complement ending with the noun-phrase enclitic =*ha* as the complementizer, e.g. (111). When the clausal complement is clefted, the complementizer is =*gede*, e.g. (112). In fact, this sentence has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (113). (113) is an instance of the =*gede-e=ti* MMC.



hank'-i-t-anno                      gara-a = ti.  
 get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3        manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 'It seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

In sentences such as (112) and (114), the verb *lab-* 'appear' can be replaced with, for example, *hed-* 'think', accompanied by its subject (in the nominative case). An example involving *hed-* 'think' clefting is (116). Again, (116) has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (117). (117) is in fact an instance of the =*gede-e=ti* MMC. ((116) happens to contain =*gede-e=ti*, rather than *gara-a=ti*. But the same applies if =*gede-e=ti* is replaced with *gara-a=ti*.)

(116) Cleft sentence

ani  
 1SG.NOM  
hed-ee-mm-o = hu                      ise  
 think-IPFV.1-1SG-M=NPC.M.NOM        3SG.F.NOM  
 hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.  
 get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 LT: 'What I (MASC) think is that she is like she will get angry.'  
 FT: '(What I (MASC) think is that) it seems like she will get  
       angry.'

(117) =*gede-e=ti* MMC

ise  
 3SG.F.NOM  
 hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.  
 get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD  
 'It seems like she will get angry.'

Whichever of the MMC subtypes occurs as a predicate in such constructions, the same requirements on the animacy and person of the subject and the aspectual categories for each MMC subtype (see Table 4) apply, and the meaning of the sentence as a whole is the same as the MMC subtype serving as the predicate.

To sum up, the omission of the subject (the underlined portion) from sentences such as (112) and (114) (which are instances of the cleft construction) may also be a possible source for these MMCs.

## 8. Summary and concluding remarks

The present paper is the first report on the existence of MMCs outside Asia, i.e. in Sidaama of Ethiopia. Sidaama has three types of MMCs.

In the *gara* MMC, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the noun *gara* 'manner, way'. In the =*gede* MMC, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic =*gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)'. Both types have an evidential

meaning: the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the 'Clause' based on his/her own observation of the subject's action or state or on the information on it that s/he has obtained from someone else.

In the DATLOC MMC, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*. The verb of the 'Clause' is an infinitive inflected for person, number, and gender, followed by the dative-locative suffix. This type has the meaning of 'proximative aspect'.

The 'Clause' of the *gara* MMC and of the *=gede* MMC can be used as a sentence by itself, but that of the DATLOC MMC cannot.

The *gara* MMC is an instance of the prototype of the MMC, while the other two types are not.

In terms of morphosyntax and semantics, the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC are very similar. Although the etymological connection between *gara* and *=gede* is not known, *=gede* may have been grammaticalized from a noun. In contrast, the DATLOC MMC seems unlikely to have developed through the grammaticalization of a noun.

## Abbreviations

ABLINS - ablative-instrumental; COMP - complementizer; CMT - comitative noun; CNV - converb (connective); D.PRFX - distant perfect; DATLOC - dative-locative; EP - epenthesis; FT - free translation; IPFX - imperfective; LT - literal translation; LV - lengthened vowel; MID - middle; MMC - mermaid construction; mod - modified (accompanied by a modifier/modifiers); MOD - Modified (accompanied by a modifier/modifiers, by the possessive pronominal suffix, or both); NPC - noun-phrase enclitic; PROP - proper noun; R.PRFX - recent perfect

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1 It is relevant to note in this connection that in one type of MMC in Japanese, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by what may be considered a case

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enclitic: the genitive =*no*. (=no may also be regarded as a complementizer or a non-content noun. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.4).)